

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

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S E C R E T JOHANNESBURG 0139

NODIS
FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: SMITH REJECTS BRITISH PROPOSALS

1. HAD BRIEF 10 PM MEETING WITH IVOR RICHARD LAST NIGHT WHILE HE AND PARTY WERE FINISHING DRAFT FACTUAL REPORT TO FCO ON THEIR JANUARY 24 TALK WITH IAN SMITH, CONTENT OF WHICH WAS FAIRLY ACCURATELY REPORTED BY HAWKINS YESTERDAY TO HARVEY NELSON IN CAPE TOWN.

2. SMITH TOLD BRITISH FROM OUTSET THAT HE COULD NOT ACCEPT THEIR PROPOSAL AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS. HE EXPRESSED GREAT CONCERN ABOUT EFFECT THEY WOULD HAVE ON WHITE MORALE AND PREDICTED THAT THEY WOULD LEAD TO ECONOMIC CHAOS AND A WHITE EXODUS WITHIN SIX MONTHS. HE SAID HE COULD NOT SELL THEM TO HIS PARTY EVEN IF HE TRIED.

3. PRESENT BESIDES IAN SMITH WERE DAVID SMITH, JACK GAYLARD, AND PIETER VAN DER BYL. ALTHOUGH SMITH CLAIMED TO HAVE CONSULTED VARIOUS GROUPS, INCLUDING PARTY AND CABINET MEMBERS, CIVIL SERVICE AND ARMY CHIEFS, RICHARD DOUBTED WHETHER SMITH HAD FORMALLY CONSULTED HIS CABINET ABOUT THE PROPOSALS. HE ASSUMED SMITH DISCUSSED IT WITH SOME OF THEM, BUT THOUGHT THE DECISION TO REJECT WAS MAINLY HIS OWN. DENNIS GRENNAN THOUGHT
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SMITH AND GAYLARD WERE THE MAIN ACTORS AND THAT GAYLARD EXERTED CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE; THAT WHILE HE TENDED ALWAYS TO ATTRIBUTE HIS VIEWS TO OTHERS, GAYLARD TOOK THE HARDEST LINE THROUGHOUT. HOWEVER, EVEN DAVID SMITH, SOMETIMES CONSIDERED TO BE MORE LIBERAL THAN THE OTHERS, SAID THAT WHILE HE WOULD BE WILLING TO ADVOCATE REASONABLE PROPOSALS TO THE RHODESIAN WHITES, HE COULD NOT PRESENT THESE PROPOSALS.

4. IAN SMITH COMPLAINED THAT THE BLACK MAJORITY ON THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COULD DOMINATE ANY DECISIONS THAT DID NOT FALL UNDER THE PROPOSED INTERIM COMMISSIONERS RESERVED POWERS. THEN, SOMEWHAT INCONSISTENTLY, HE STATED THAT IF THE WHITE VETO IN THE COUNCIL OF STATE UNDER THE FIVE POINTS WAS WHAT THE AFRICANS OBJECTED TO THEN PERHAPS SOME ADJUSTMENTS COULD BE MADE THROUGH NEGOTIATION. SMITH SAID HE WAS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE AND WOULD CONTINUE TO BE PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE, BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF THE "KISSINGER PROPOSALS."

5. SMITH DID NOT LIKE THE NATIONAL DEFENCE COUNCIL NOR THE POSSIBLE REPLACEMENT OF THE CHIEFS OF STAFF AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICERS, ESPECIALLY THE COMMISSIONER'S POWER TO HIRE AND FIRE. HE ARGUED THAT THE CHIEFS OF STAFF COULD NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSALS AND VAN DER BYL SAID THEY COULD NOT ACCEPT ANY INTEGRATION OF THE "TERRORISTS." ACCORDING TO GRENNAN, SMITH MADE THE MISTAKE OF SAYING THAT RICHARD COULD TALK TO THE MILITARY CHIEFS HIMSELF, AND RICHARD RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO, AT WHICH POINT GAYLARD INTERRUPTED TO REMIND SMITH THAT THE DEFENSE CHIEFS DID NOT WANT TO BECOME INVOLVED IN SUCH "POLITICAL" MATTERS AND WOULD NOT WANT TO SEE RICHARD.

6. WE INTERRUPTED OUR TALK IN RICHARD'S SUITE AT THE CARLTON HOTEL IN JOHANNESBURG TO HEAR SMITH'S TV STATEMENT AND RICHARD'S TV INTERVIEW REBROADCAST ON SATV NEWS. RICHARD WAS VISIBLY PEEVED BY SMITH'S CHARGE ON TV THAT THE BRITISH WISHED TO IMPOSE AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT ON RHODESIA, AND THAT THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WOULD "ENTAIL IMMEDIATE MAJORITY RULE
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FROM OUTSIDE." SMITH QUOTED RICHARD AS SAYING THAT A SETTLEMENT WOULD ONLY BE VIABLE IF IT WERE APPROVED BY THE FRONT-LINE PRESIDENTS AND ASKED WHY THE BLACK PRESIDENTS SHOULD BE ACCORDED THE RIGHT TO SAY WHAT A RHODESIAN SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE. (NOTE: S.A. RADIO AND TV HAVE CARRIED QUITE LENGTHY EXCERPTS OF SMITH'S STATEMENT CORRESPONDING TO THE CENTRAL PORTION, ABOUT THE TWENTIETH THROUGH TWENTY-THIRD PARAGRAPHS, OF ADVANCE TEXT SUBMITTED IN CAPE TOWN 0106.)

7. RICHARD'S TV INTERVIEW MADE CLEAR THAT ALL THE FINE PRINT IN THE BRITISH PROPOSALS WAS AVAILABLE FOR NEGOTIATION, AND HE RAN THROUGH SEVERAL MAJOR POINTS SAYING THAT EACH WAS SUBJECT TO NEGOTIATION. HE SAID THE AFRICANS HAD ACCEPTED THE FRAMEWORK OF THE PROPOSALS AND SAID THEY WERE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THEM BUT THAT SMITH HAD SAID HE WAS NOT; HE WANTS NEGOTIATIONS ONLY ON HIS OWN TERMS. RICHARD CONCLUDED THAT A "CHANCE FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN THROWN AWAY." ASKED WHAT HE WOULD DO NOW HE SAID, "I GO HOME TO LONDON AND RETHINK." (COMMENT: IT HAS SUB-

SEQUENTLY BEEN ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL REMAIN IN AFRICA FOR FURTHER CONSULTATIONS AS NOTED BELOW. ALTHOUGH S.A. NEWS-PAPERS OF JANUARY 24 QUOTED RICHARD AS SAYING, "THE DEAL IS OFF," HE TOLD ME HE DID NOT SAY THIS.)

8. RICHARD TOLD ME THAT WHILE SMITH COMPLAINED ABOUT THE PROVISIONS FOR LAW AND ORDER, THE MINORITY POSITION OF HIS GOVERNMENT, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF CHANGES BEING AFFECTED WITHOUT CHECKS AND BALANCES, SMITH'S MAIN CONCERN WAS THAT THE BRITISH PLAN WOULD CRACK EUROPEAN MORALE AND CAUSE THE EXODUS THAT ALL WANTED TO AVOID. MANSFIELD NOTED THAT SMITH IMPLIED VAGUELY THAT AFRICAN OBJECTIONS TO THE COUNCIL OF STATE COULD BE NEGOTIATED, BUT SPECULATED THAT HE MEANT THIS WOULD MORE LIKELY MEANGIVING THE AFRICANS ASSURANCES THAT THE WHITES WOULD NOT MISUSE THEIR VETO RATHER THAN ELIMINATING THE VETO. MANSFIELD ADDED THAT AT THEIR AIRPORT DEPARTURE, GAYLARD SAID MANSFIELD WOULD BE SURPRISED BY THE CHANGES
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SMITH WAS PLANNING TO MAKE IN THE LAND APPORTIONMENT ACT, DEMONSTRATING RHODESIAN FLEXIBILITY.

9. RICHARD PLANS TO SPEND A "FEW" DAYS IN THE JOHANNESBURG AREA AND MIGHT GO DOWN TO SEE VORSTER AGAIN SHOULD VORSTER ASK TO SEE HIM. (MANSFIELD THINKS HE SHOULD NOT SEEK TO SEE VORSTER OTHERWISE.) BRITISH AMBASSADOR SCOTT IS FLYING TO JOHANNESBURG THIS MORNING AND RICHARD WILL BE HOLDING A STRATEGY MEETING TO CONSIDER WHAT RECOMMENDATIONS MIGHT BE MADE TO LONDON. HE APPARENTLY STILL PLANS TO GO TO LUSAKA FOR A MEETING WITH THE PATRIOTIC FRONT LATER THIS WEEK.

10. I WILL KEEP CLOSE CONTACT WITH RICHARD'S PARTY AND REPORT MORE FULLY ON THEIR THINKING LATER.
JOHNSON

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